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# THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII

A Statistical Study Bearing on the Future Number and  
Voting Strength and on the Economic and  
Social Character of the Hawaiian  
Japanese

*by*

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## INTRODUCTION

THIS Monograph by Professor Romanzo Adams, of the University of Hawaii, deserves careful consideration by all who are thinking on the future of the Japanese population in the United States, whether in continental America or in Hawaii.

Professor Adams has brought to the study of this much discussed question rare ability as a statistician and sociologist. He gives us his results and also the basis on which he founds them. Any student who will take the pains to study the tables here given in full, can hardly fail to reach the same general conclusions.

Those who have been anxious lest Hawaii fall into the clutches of the Japanese in Hawaii and ultimately into the possession of the Japanese Government, may banish their fears and anxieties, for Professor Adams here proves the fallacy of many alleged statistics and lurid pictures based upon them which have been widely circulated.

Professor Adams' principal conclusions may be summed up in a few clear-cut statements.

1. Japanese population in Hawaii has begun to diminish as compared with the total population.
2. Since the Gentlemen's Agreement went into effect more Japanese men and children have left Hawaii than have entered, over 6,000 of the former and nearly 15,000 of the latter.
3. The movement of Japanese wives from Japan to Hawaii has about ended.
4. The fecundity of married Japanese women in Hawaii is lower than that of any other race-group except Caucasians from the United States and north Europe.
5. Should Congress pass a law enabling Hawaiian sugar planters to import new, cheap, illiterate labor immigrants from south Europe or from China, Hawaiian-born Japanese youth will in all probability migrate in large numbers to continental United States, which they have full right to do, being American citizens.

6. The numbers of voters in 1941 of American citizens of Japanese race will probably be under 25 per cent of the whole number of voters.

In addition to this statistical study of the Japanese population in Hawaii, there is urgent call for two qualitative studies such as have been conducted in California by Rev. Paul B. Waterhouse and Professor M. L. Darsie.

Mr. Waterhouse secured replies from over 2,000 Japanese children and young people in the public schools of California to a questionnaire on their personal interests and purposes. He found that two-thirds of them were attending Protestant Sunday Schools; thirty-five per cent of the entire number declared themselves Christian, while nineteen per cent said they were Buddhist. The American patriotism of these young people was manifested in many striking assertions.

Professor Darsie has reported an "Intelligence Test" given in English to 568 children of Japanese race. The average I. Q. proved to be 90.2 For purposes of comparison the I. Q. of several immigrant groups in America is given; namely, North European, 100.3; Finn, 90.0; South Italian, 77.5.

The writer of this introductory note believes that the time has come for a radical change in the matter of immigration from Japan and of treatment of Japanese in the United States.

1. On the part of Japan it would be well to stop forthwith all further immigration to the United States of the laboring classes, both skilled and unskilled. The number of Japanese families in Hawaii and on the West Coast, though comparatively small and of a relatively high order of intelligence and virtue, constitutes a serious problem in assimilation and Americanization. Two or three decades will probably be needed to find out how fully the present Japanese population can be wholesomely incorporated into our body politic.
2. The Japanese government should also take steps at once to abolish the dual citizenship of Japanese children born in the United States. Their Japanese citizenship is of no possible advantage to Japan and is fraught with serious hardships for the children and with grave dangers of international irritation.
3. On the part of the United States it would be well to arrange at once for the abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement and the enactment of a treaty stopping further Japanese immigration of the labor-

ing classes, whether skilled or unskilled, annulling dual citizenship and granting most favored nation treatment to all Japanese lawfully in the United States.

4. The United States should also amend the present law of naturalization, raising the standard and giving privileges of citizenship to every individual who will personally qualify, regardless of race or nationality.
5. For Congress to enact a Japanese exclusion law or pass any discriminatory legislation inevitably humiliating to Japan would be a serious mistake and utterly needless. It would contravene the Gentlemen's Agreement, ignore its moral significance and repudiate its spirit of mutual friendship and confidence. The ends in view, moreover, can be secured in friendly conference, each taking into full consideration the viewpoints and the needs of the other.

The constructive measures advocated above would remove the one remaining cloud that rests on our common horizon, and do much to promote friendship, goodwill and co-operation for the permanent peace of the Pacific.

SIDNEY L. GULICK.

January 15, 1924.

## The Japanese Population in Hawaii\*

**I**NSTABILITY has been a prominent characteristic of the population of Hawaii for at least a half century. The great decrease in the native Hawaiian population and its partial amalgamation with Caucasian and Asiatic elements, the importation of laborers from many countries, the rapid increase by births of some foreign peoples, and the departure of many laborers to the mainland of the United States and of others to their native lands, are some of the outstanding facts. Considerable interest attaches to the question of Hawaii's future population. Doubtless migration to and from the Territory will eventually be a less important factor and population will become more stable. What will this population be?

Just now the prediction is frequently made that, unless some special device be introduced to prevent it, the Japanese will soon be the majority of Hawaii's population. The following statistical study is made in order to help the reader to form a just opinion as to the probable outcome of present tendencies and forces. The period under consideration, so far as the definite forecast is concerned, extends to 1941. The term "Japanese" as used herein includes, unless otherwise specified, all persons of Japanese descent, both native and foreign born, and the terms Chinese, Portuguese, Filipino, etc. are used similarly. The term American and north European means American, British, German, and a few others, and corresponds to "other Caucasian" as used in the census.

### I. Growth of the Population in Hawaii by Racial Elements (1872-1923)

**S**UGAR production has been carried on for a long time in Hawaii, but not until it was given a duty free market in the United States by the reciprocity treaty of 1876 did it dominate the economic life of the Island. Table A shows the growth of the various population elements from 1872 to the present year. The figures for 1923 are the estimates of the Territorial Bureau of Vital Statistics, and they are very accurate estimates be-

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\* Portions of this monograph have already been published in **Foreign Affairs**, December, 1923. Permission has been granted for reprinting these portions in this pamphlet.

cause arrivals and departures as well as births and deaths are matters of record and publicity.

The Hawaiian born children of foreigners in 1896 are classified as follows: American, 820; British, 712; German, 520; Norwegian, 162; French, 26; (total American and North European, 2240); Portuguese, 6959; Chinese 2234; Japanese, 2078; all others, 222.

The Chinese, the first of the labor groups to be brought to Hawaii, reached their highest relative numbers in 1896, when they constituted 17.8 per cent of the population as compared with 7.9 per cent in 1923. The Japanese, coming more recently, reached their highest relative number in 1920, when they constituted 42.7 per cent of the population of the Territory. Since that date their percentage has decreased as follows: 1921, 41.6 per cent; 1922, 41.1 per cent; 1923, 40.4 per cent. The number of adult male Japanese, both Hawaiian and foreign born, decreased from 41,795 in 1910 to 36,548 in 1920, and further decreases will characterize the present decade.

Attention is called to the recent rapid increase in the number of Filipinos. The very recent increase in "other Caucasians" is explained mainly by the coming of men in army and navy service.

Attention is called to the approximate equality of the sexes of laborers brought from Portugal, Spain and Porto Rico, and to the marked inequality in the case of the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Filipinos, especially in the earlier years of each movement. Note that since 1900 the Japanese have been approaching sex equality and, in a smaller degree, the Chinese also, while the same tendency is manifest in the case of the Filipino since 1910. The men come first, then the women, and then children multiply.



**TABLE A**  
**POPULATION OF HAWAII BY NATIONALITY FOR VARIOUS YEARS**

	1872			1878	1884			1890		
	Male	Female	Total	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Native Hawaiian Race	26,130	22,914	49,044	44,088	21,504	18,510	40,014	18,364	16,072	34,436
Caucasian-Hawaiian	1,225	1,262	2,487	3,420	2,119	2,099	4,218	3,085	3,101	6,186
Asiatic-Hawaiian										
Portuguese <sup>1</sup>	367	28	395	436	5,239	4,138	9,377	4,770	3,832	8,602
Porto Rican <sup>1</sup>										
Spanish <sup>1</sup>										
Other Caucasian <sup>1</sup>	1,336	484	1,820	2,512	3,446	2,056	5,502	3,210	1,393	4,603
Chinese <sup>1</sup>	1,831	107	1,938	5,916	17,068	871	17,939	14,522	779	15,301
Japanese <sup>1</sup>					98	18	116	10,079	2,281	12,360
Korean <sup>1</sup>										
Filipino <sup>1</sup>										
Hawaiian-born children of Foreigners	418	431	849	947	1,068	972	2,040	3,909	3,580	7,489
All others <sup>1</sup>	343	21	364	666	997	375	1,372	775	232	1,007
Total	31,650	25,247	56,897	57,985	51,539	29,039	80,578	58,714	31,276	89,990

<sup>1</sup> From 1872 to and including 1896 the numbers of all racial groups except Native Hawaiians and part Hawaiian.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates necessary because of certain differences in the classifications in the Census of 1900. Data sufficient for 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Estimate of Hawaiian Bureau of Vital Statistics based on arrivals and departures and births and deaths since 1900.



CENSUS DATES, BEGINNING WITH 1872, AND FOR JUNE 30, 1923

1896			1900			1910			1920			June 30, 1923
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Both Sexes
399	14,620	31,019	15,642	14,157	29,799	13,439	12,602	26,041	11,990	11,733	23,723	21,468
249	4,236	8,485	3,460 <sup>2</sup>	3,439 <sup>2</sup>	6,899 <sup>2</sup>	4,438	4,334	8,772	5,528	5,544	11,072	12,514
			1,558 <sup>2</sup>	1,400 <sup>2</sup>	2,958 <sup>2</sup>	1,812	1,922	3,734	3,524	3,431	6,955	7,374
596	3,636	8,232	9,785 <sup>2</sup>	8,487 <sup>2</sup>	18,272 <sup>2</sup>	11,571	10,730	22,301	13,737	13,265	27,002	26,397
						2,878	2,012	4,890	3,133	2,469	5,602	6,375
						1,078	912	1,990	1,326	1,104	2,430	2,105
433	1,574	5,007	5,699 <sup>2</sup>	2,848 <sup>2</sup>	8,547 <sup>2</sup>	9,255	5,612	14,867	12,309	7,399	19,708	35,774
1 063	1,419	19,382	22,296	3,471	25,767	17,148	4,526	21,674	16,197	7 310	23,507	23,714
1 58	4,171	22,329	47,508	13,603	61,111	54,784	24,891	79,675	62,644	46,630	109,274	120,590
						3,931	602	4,533	3,498	1,452	4,950	5,608
						2,160	201	2,361	16,851	4,180	21,031	36,199
58	6,675	13,733	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
61	172	833	421	227	648	605	466	1,071	409	249	658	402
7 17	36,503	109,020	106,369	47,632	154,001	123,099	68,810	191,909	151,146	104,766	255,912	298,520

<sup>1</sup> For foreign born only; 1900-1923 the children of the various nationalities are classed with their parents,  
<sup>2</sup> Take close estimates possible.  
<sup>3</sup> Census of 1920.

## II. Japanese Steerage Travel

### A. *Between Japan and Hawaii*

STEERAGE passenger travel of Japanese between Hawaii and Japan (Table B) and between Hawaii and California (Table C) affords some information as to the movement of population, but it must be remembered that many travellers were round trip passengers and that they do not represent gain or loss of population. Japanese travel, other than steerage, has been small, and a considerable part of it of the round trip variety.

There are three sources of passenger statistics: the reports of the U. S. Bureau of Immigration; Japanese governmental sources; and the records of steerage arrivals and departures kept by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The figures of no two are comparable for the following reasons: the Bureau of Immigration classifies Hawaiian born Japanese as Americans, while the Japanese government classifies them as Japanese. The Planters' Association follows the method of the Japanese government, but it includes only steerage passengers. Year by year comparisons are further invalidated by considerations of time. Passengers may leave Japan near the end of one year and reach Hawaii near the beginning of the next. With due allowance for all such factors, it seems probable that all three sets of figures are approximately in harmony with each other. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association figures have been kept carefully and have received official publication. I have used them because they give children under sixteen years of age a separate classification, and this shows the character of the movement more adequately.

Attention is called to the fact that before 1908 the number of women arriving was less than a fifth the number of men, but that arrivals of women have exceeded departures almost constantly since that date. From 1908 to 1920 the arrivals consisted most largely of wives whose husbands had preceded them and of young women who came to become brides—the "picture brides." More recently the arrivals consist mainly of Japanese women returning from a visit to Japan and of Hawaiian born young women who, as children, were sent to Japan to be educated. It is probable that departures of women will exceed arrivals for the present decade.

The men who arrived after 1908 were mainly men returning from a visit in Japan, but there were some immigrants, mainly sons, over 16 years old, of Japanese in Hawaii. There were some Hawaiian born males who had been sent to Japan as children and who returned classified as men. About a

TABLE B

# JAPANESE STEERAGE PASSENGER TRAVEL BETWEEN HAWAII AND JAPAN

YEAR	ARRIVALS IN HAWAII FROM JAPAN			DEPARTURES TO JAPAN FROM HAWAII			DIFFERENCES			
	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	Net
1868	148									
1885-94 <sup>1</sup>	21,881	5,191	133	4,507	957	101	17,374	4,234	32	21,640
1894-97 <sup>2</sup>	17,839	4,041		Data wanting						
1898-1904	61,670	8,138		Data wanting						
1905 <sup>3</sup>	5,447	567	55	1,658	687	873	3,789	-120	-818	2,851
1906	17,007	1,113	67	1,676	728	951	15,331	385	-884	14,832
1907	11,940	2,877	158	1,810	692	986	10,130	2,185	-828	11,487
1908	2,369	1,700	133	1,804	678	972	565	1,022	-839	748
1909	385	849	76	1,581	617	912	-1,196	232	-836	-1,800
1910	507	1,182	87	1,720	717	1,026	-1,213	465	-939	-1,687
1911 <sup>4</sup>	341 <sup>4</sup>	788 <sup>4</sup>	57 <sup>4</sup>	829 <sup>4</sup>	351 <sup>4</sup>	488 <sup>4</sup>	-488 <sup>4</sup>	437 <sup>4</sup>	-431 <sup>4</sup>	-482
1912	1,270	2,019	176	1,787	742	911	-517	1,277	-735	25
1913	2,005	2,637	346	1,832	760	911	173	1,877	-565	1,485
1914	1,724	2,504	296	1,921	798	1,021	-197	1,706	-725	784
1915	1,140	1,745	231	1,655	739	992	-515	1,006	-761	-270
1916	1,841	2,008	259	1,422	706	866	419	1,302	-607	1,114
1917	1,758	1,935	297	1,680	668	1,040	78	1,267	-743	602
1918	1,629	1,966	235	2,281	878	1,514	-652	1,088	-1,279	-843
1919	1,613	1,909	380	2,122	1,244	1,617	-509	665	-1,237	-1,081
1920	1,483	1,721	356	2,369	1,389	1,783	-886	332	-1,427	-1,981
1921	1,670	1,552	432	2,769	1,724	2,064	-1,099	-172	-1,632	-2,903
1922	2,179	1,730	527	2,576	1,686	1,839	-397	44	-1,312	-1,665
1923	1,442	1,440	551	1,640	1,072	1,173	-198	368	-622	-452
1908-23	23,356	27,685	4,439	29,988	14,769	19,129	-6,632	12,916	-14,690	-8,406

<sup>1</sup> Report of Board of Labor and Immigration, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Data of arrivals and departures for the years 1894-1904 very incomplete. The figures are of passports issued in Japan. Actual arrivals were fewer.

<sup>3</sup> Data for 1905-1915 are from the Reports of the Bureau of Labor Immigration and Statistics, and data for 1916-1922 are from the Governor's annual reports.

<sup>4</sup> Before 1911, the calendar year is meant; 1911 is a half year ending June 30, 1911, and the later dates refer to fiscal years ending June 30.

TABLE C

# JAPANESE STEERAGE PASSENGER TRAVEL BETWEEN HAWAII AND CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

YEAR	ARRIVALS FROM THE UNITED STATES			DEPARTURES TO THE UNITED STATES			DIFFERENCES			
	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	Men	Wom- en	Child- ren	
1885-94				692	20					
1905 <sup>1</sup>	No data—proba- bly few if any arrivals.			8,657	712	281				
1906				11,047	794	386				
1907				5,149	198	91				
1908				45	17	7				
1909				16	7	5				
1910				31	8	3				
1911 <sup>2</sup>	4			13	5	4	-9	-5	-4	-18
1912 <sup>3</sup>	32	2		42	6		-10	-4		-14
1913	25	1	1	37	3	2	-12	-2	-1	-15
1914	31	2	5	36	2		-5	0	5	0
1915	51	8	5	53	5	5	-2	3		1
1916	71	11	5	68	5	1	3	6	4	13
1917	40	4		52	8		-12	-4		-16
1918	47	3	6	58	5		-11	-2	6	-7
1919	34	12	4	174	30	12	-140	-18	-8	-166
1920	57	9	5	299	67	24	-242	-58	-19	-319
1921	63	11	5	183	56	73	-120	-45	-68	-233
1922	44	8	3	28	9	2	16	-1	1	16
1923	50	11	7	104	9	4	-54	2	3	-49
1911-23	549	82	46	1,147	210	127	-598	-128	-81	-807

<sup>1</sup> 1905-10 calendar years. <sup>2</sup> 1911 half year ending June 30. <sup>3</sup> 1912-23 fiscal year ending June 30.

third of the men who departed were returning to Japan for permanent residence, and those who were married took their wives and children. Most children going to Japan in this way do not return to Hawaii.

The children who arrived ten or fifteen years ago were mainly foreign born children coming to join their fathers. More recently they are children returning from a visit to Japan or from a more extended trip for educational purposes.

### *B. Between Hawaii and Continental America*

Two things relative to the departures for the mainland (Table C) challenge the attention: (1) The very heavy movement before 1907 (the date of the Gentlemen's Agreement) and its negligible and nearly balanced character after that date; (2) A beginning of a revival of the movement in 1918—this latter movement being one of Hawaiian born Japanese and of Japanese naturalized as a result of service in the war.

The numbers are not large yet, but they are large relative to the total number eligible to go—that is, to the number able to prove their citizenship to the satisfaction of the immigration authorities. Probably from 20 to 25 per cent of those eligible have gone to the mainland, and the movement will grow as the children reach maturity in larger numbers. It should be remembered that comparatively few Hawaiian born Japanese have reached adult years.

## III. Laborers on Sugar Plantations

A STUDY of Table D in connection with the two preceding will show that the quest for plantation labor has been the chief factor in bringing the various foreigners to Hawaii and that the representatives of all nationalities tend to leave the plantations almost constantly, thus creating a need for constant new importations. For example, from 1880 to 1890 about 33 per cent of the Chinese were plantation laborers, and now only about 6 per cent. In 1901, nearly 45 per cent of the Japanese were plantation laborers, now only 13 per cent.

The Filipinos, who were brought first in 1908, constituted 5 per cent of all sugar plantation laborers in 1910, 30 per cent in 1920 and 47 per cent in 1923. Counting men only, the Filipinos exceed the Japanese by more than 7,000. But now the Filipinos are beginning to come to the towns and cities, and about a thousand went to California last year. The total number of laborers employed on sugar plantations is about the same as it was twenty years ago.

TABLE D

## LABORERS EMPLOYED (1)

													July 31	June 30	June 30	
	1882	1886	1888	1890	1892	1894	1896	1897	1898	1899	1901	1902	1904	1905	1906	
Americans and North Europeans	834	379	.....	.....	409	466	483	526	658	514	674	In'cd in 'other'	979	1,098	1,082	
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	2,575	2,255	2,062	1,873	1,717	1,903	1,615	1,497	1,482	1,326	1,470	1,493	1,312	1,687	1,604	30
Portuguese, Porto- Rican and Spanish	637	3,081	3,132	3,017	2,526	2,177	2,268	2,218	2,064	2,153	4,512	4,705	4,942	4,920	5,303	45
Chinese.....	5,037	5,626	5,727	4,517	2,617	2,784	6,289	8,114	7,200	5,969	4,976	3,937	3,738	4,138	3,684	18
Japanese.....	15	1,949	3,299	7,560	13,019	13,684	12,893	12,068	16,786	25,654	27,537	31,029	32,331	28,406	26,218	300
Korean.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,435	4,946	3,615	16
Filipino.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All others.....	1,145	1,249	1,358	928	248	280	232	230	389	371	418	1,078	83	48	19	75
Total...	10,243	14,539	15,578	17,895	20,536	21,294	23,780	24,653	28,579	35,987	39,587	42,242	45,820	45,243	41,525	47

The statistics for 1882-1899 are taken from the Reports of the Board of Immigration and Labor.

From 1901 to 1917 the statistics are taken from the 1917 Report of the Governor, and those of 1922 from the



# SUGAR PLANTATIONS 1882-1923

June 30	June 30	June 30	June 30	May 31	May 31	May 30	April 30	April 30	April 30	June 30	June 30	June 30	June 30	May 30	June 30
1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
970	1,000	1,084	899	940	738	700	733	778	765	743	779	893	895	942	1,100
1,309	1,454	1,339	1,522	1,297	991	968	964	940	886	982	943	1,322	1,027	966	700
1,546	6,487	6,290	6,903	7,650	6,894	6,800	6,607	5,929	5,413	4,934	4,783	4,821	3,949	3,420	3,300
1,916	3,561	2,761	2,758	2,744	2,561	2,229	2,208	1,997	2,129	1,895	1,908	2,378	1,586	1,487	1,500
1,771	26,875	28,106	27,582	28,123	24,711	24,732	24,807	23,870	24,696	24,611	24,791	19,474	17,446	16,992	16,000
1,125	2,229	1,752	1,771	1,668	1,387	1,392	1,499	1,307	1,352	1,299	1,407	1,982	1,150	1,170	1,000
141	86	2,269	3,334	4,630	8,009	8,912	8,549	8,845	9,459	9,964	10,354	13,061	12,271	18,189	21,000
140	10	316	279	283	309	310	337	295	300	280	266	373	383	236	225
1918	41,702	43,917	45,048	47,335	45,600	46,043	45,704	43,961	45,000	44,708	45,231	44,304	38,707	43,402	44,825

of that year. The Hawaiian Annual supplied the figures for 1918-21. The figures for 1923 are estimates.



## IV. Births and Deaths

THE birth rate is important in relation to future population. It depends mainly on two things: (1) The relative number of married women of child-bearing age; (2) The fecundity of the women, which is partly a racial, but chiefly an economic and social, class characteristic.

No forecast of future population of Hawaii as affected by birth rates will be valuable unless it is based on a careful study of the age-sex distribution of the various national groups.

Table E shows the abnormal age distribution of the women of the various groups, especially of the Japanese, who are relatively numerous at 20-44 years of age. There are few old women and few girls 10-20 years of age. The age distribution of the Japanese women is at present unusually favorable to a high birth rate—more favorable than it will ever be again. Before 1930 the age distribution will shift in such a way as to result in a measurable decrease in the birth rate.

The decade 1910-1920 was for the Japanese in Hawaii a period of getting wives. Before 1907 the great majority of the men who came from Japan were unmarried and many of the married men left their wives in Japan. Commonly the men came with the intention of remaining only a few years in Hawaii. The application of the provisions of the Gentlemen's Agreement to Hawaii had the effect of stabilizing the Japanese population of the Territory, and many of the men, when they decided to prolong their stay, sent for their wives or for women to become their wives—the "picture brides." The coming of the women has been an important movement and it is practically completed. The Japanese men of Hawaii are now married in higher ratio than are the men of any other racial group. The demand for wives and brides has been supplied. "Picture bride" arrivals since the date of the Gentlemen's Agreement have been as follows:

1907.....	466	1915.....	1050
1908.....	755	1916.....	909
1909.....	436	1917.....	985
1910.....	658	1918.....	1017
1911.....	865	1919.....	848
1912.....	1285	1920.....	676
1913.....	1572	1921.....	529
1914.....	1407	1922.....	555
		1923.....	263

The increase in the number of Japanese married women 1910-20, as shown by Table F, was much greater than that

**TABLE E**  
**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLES OF HAWAII CLASSIFIED**  
**BY NATIONALITY AND SEX—CENSUS 1920**

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Under 10 Yrs. of Age	10-19 Yrs. of Age	20-49 Yrs. of Age	50 Yrs. of Age or Over	Under 10 Yrs. of Age	10-19 Yrs. of Age	20-44 Yrs. of Age	45 Yrs. of Age or Over
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	6,306	4,409	7,709	2,610	6,132	4,531	7,079	2,955
Portuguese	4,591	3,260	4,628	1,253	4,423	3,280	4,167	1,388
Porto Rican	914	666	1,254	295	868	676	678	246
Spanish	473	318	409	126	382	301	328	93
Other Caucasian <sup>1</sup>	1,391	1,953	7,254	1,797	1,194	937	3,672	1,589
Chinese	2,731	2,054	6,354	5,048	2,668	1,822	2,231	578
Japanese	16,394	8,915	30,208	7,111	15,919	7,564	19,588	3,653
Korean	607	201	2,178	502	558	217	550	137
Filipino	1,570	980	13,932	357	1,541	499	2,027	112
All Other	96	53	174	86	87	79	58	25
Total	35,073	22,809	74,100	19,185	33,772	19,906	40,378	10,776

<sup>1</sup>Includes a considerable number of men in military and naval service.

**TABLE F**  
**SOME STATISTICS OF MARITAL CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE**  
**OF HAWAII**

	Married Women 1910	Married Women 1920	Increase in the Decade 1910-20	Married Women Under 45 Yrs. of Age 1920	Single Males 15-45 Yrs. of Age 1920
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	7,792	8,314	522	6,302	4,047
Portuguese	4,059	4,775	716	3,851	2,610
Porto Rican	904	956	52	780	581
Spanish	351	411	60	336	446
American and North European	2,200	3,310	1,110	2,487	8,050
Chinese	1,555	2,416	861	2,005	2,793
Korean	295	681	386	578	1,015
Japanese	13,970	22,373	8,403	19,204	11,521
Filipino	261	2,246	2,053	2,156	9,932
All Other		68		68	(est.) 86
Total	31,387	45,550	14,163	37,767	41,081
All, exclusive of the Japanese	17,417	23,177	5,760	18,563	29,560

of all the other nationalities combined, and in 1920 they constituted nearly half of all married women and over half of all married women under 45 years of age. Excepting the Americans and Filipinos, the number of unmarried boys and men 15-44 years of age in 1920 indicates the approximate ratio of marriages in the decade 1920-30. In this decade the number of married Japanese women under 45 years of age may be expected to fall from 51 per cent to about 44 per cent of the whole number of married women of this age, and the ratio of births will be reduced correspondingly.

Since July 1, 1912, a record of marriages by nationality has been kept for all but three years. The Bureau of Immigration has the record of arrival of "picture brides." Table G shows that during the time when "picture bride" arrivals were most numerous, 1912-1914, the Japanese marriages constituted 57.1 per cent of all marriages. More recently, with the reduction in "picture bride" arrivals, 38.8 per cent are Japanese. Basing the estimate mainly on the number of young men and boys who are or will be marriageable by 1930, I would say that this percentage will decrease still further.

Invalid conclusions are frequently drawn because crude birth rate is confused with fecundity. In a society of normal age-sex-marital distribution, the crude birth rate does indicate pretty accurately the fecundity, but this is not true under the special conditions in Hawaii. Where the purpose is to forecast long run tendencies, the fecundity, as measured by the refined birth rate,—the rate based on the number of married women under 45 years of age—is the important thing. In Table H both the crude and the refined birth rates are given. The refined rate can be computed for census years only.

Three observations should be made on the figures given in Table H.

(1) The low crude birth rate of the Filipinos is explained by the fewness of Filipino women. (See table of age-sex-distribution.)

(2) The fecundity of the Japanese women is lower than that of any other group but the American and north European. This is contrary to popular opinion but is well attested by the statistical data.

(3) The corresponding data for the various foreign born nationalities in the United States are not available, but there is reason for believing that both the fecundity and the crude birth rate are higher for the recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe than for the Japanese in Hawaii.

The death rate is, of course, a factor in determining the

**TABLE G**  
**NUMBER OF MARRIAGES IN HAWAII FOR CERTAIN**  
**FISCAL YEARS ENDING JUNE 30**

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Japanese Men Marry Japanese Women.....	1,844	1,806	1,409	1,305	1,263	No data	.....	.....	621 <sup>1</sup>	683 <sup>1</sup>	1,007
Japanese Men Marry non-Japanese Women.....	12	6	4	9	13	No data	.....	.....	13	9	14
Japanese Women Marry non-Japanese Men.....	6	2	1	3	6	No data	.....	.....	12	14	15
Number of "Picture Bride" Arrivals.....	1,572	1,407	1,050	909	985	1,017	848	676	529	555	263
All Marriages in Territory.....	3,231	3,149	2,730	2,716	2,762	2,572 <sup>1</sup>	2,015 <sup>1</sup>	2,075 <sup>1</sup>	2,268 <sup>1</sup>	2,362 <sup>1</sup>	2,594
All Marriages Except Those in which both Parties were Japanese.....	1,387	1,343	1,321	1,411	1,499	No data	.....	.....	1,647	1,679	1,587
Percentage of Japanese to All..	57.0	57.3	51.6	48.0	45.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38.8

<sup>1</sup> The total number of marriages, 1918-1922, and the number of marriages of Japanese, 1921 and 1922, are not comparable to the figures for other years since, during these years, the "picture brides" were not required to be married in Hawaii and some of them were not so married. The 1923 figures are comparable with those of the earlier years, the requirement of the Hawaiian marriage of "picture brides" having been restored.

**TABLE H**  
**BIRTH RATES FOR THE PEOPLES OF HAWAII—1920**

	Number of Births for Year Ending June 30, 1920	Number of Births for Each 1,000 Population	Number of Married Women Under 45 Yrs. of Age, Census 1920	Number of Births to each 1,000 Married Women Under 45 Yrs. of Age
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian Combined.....	1,866	47.9	6,302	296.0
Portuguese.....	1,127	45.4	3,851	292.6
Porto Rican.....	265	50.0	780	339.4
Spanish.....	116	47.7	336	345.2
Other Caucasian.....	374	14.9	2,487	150.3
Chinese.....	661	29.2	2,005	329.6
Japanese.....	4,963	43.7	19,204	258.4
Korean.....	192	36.9	578	332.1
Filipino.....	584	24.9	2,156	270.8
All Other.....	17	28.3	68	250.0
All Races.....	10,165	39.0	37,767	269.1
All except the Japanese.....	5,202	35.0	18,563	280.1

rate of natural increase of population. The death rate of the Japanese in Hawaii, considered in relation to age, falls a little below the average, the average being made high by the exceptionally high rates of the native Hawaiian and the Filipino. Because of these exceptionally high death rates, the rate of normal increase—the rate based on fecundity and death rates—for the two races is low. The nationalities are listed as follows in order of rate of normal increase, the lowest first:

(1) American and North European; (2) Filipino; (3) Hawaiian (including part Hawaiian); (4) Japanese; (5) Portuguese; (6) Porto Rican; (7) Spanish; (8) Korean; (9) Chinese.

## V. Future Voting Strength of the Japanese in Hawaii

It has been predicted that the Japanese will have a majority or near majority of the voters by 1940. This is improbable on the face of it, since they constitute at present only 40.4 per cent of the population and the percentage is diminishing. Moreover, by 1940, most of the Japanese men and women over forty years old, being aliens, will not be eligible to naturalization, while nearly all of the other people over forty will be either native born or foreign born eligible to naturalization—this on the basis of present laws and policies.

It is not possible to make a close estimate of the voting strength of the various national groups in 1940 because of the number of factors of uncertainty, chief of which is further immigration and emigration. There is also the question of whether persons eligible to naturalization shall seek naturalization and whether citizens actually exercise their right to vote. Because wild guesses, some of them purporting to be estimates based on statistical calculations, have been given wide publicity, I am venturing to make an estimate of the number of potential voters in 1941. (See Table I.) In order to indicate my method to a slight extent, I am making the estimate by stages.

The preliminary estimate of column one is based on the assumption that the situation will not be modified by immigration or emigration, after the census date of 1920. Under this assumption the potential voters of 1941 will be all of the people who were living in the Territory in 1920 and who will survive till 1941, except certain classes excluded by law, as follows:



(1) Men stationed in Hawaii for military and naval service; (2) Foreign born not eligible to naturalization; (3) Native born women married to aliens not eligible to naturalization; (4) Illiterates; (5) Mental incompetents. There is a considerable quantity of statistical information to guide the estimate as to men in army and navy service, foreign born persons not eligible to naturalization, illiterates, and mental incompetents, and as to death rates, so that this estimate, as far as it goes, should not be far from accurate.

In the second column I have introduced such modifications as I have thought necessary in view of probable immigration and emigration, matters of much greater uncertainty.

The greatest uncertainty in this estimate relates to the Filipinos. (They are eligible to citizenship.) The estimate assumes a continuation of existing laws and labor policies, but the planters are anxious to change their policy if they can secure a change in the law to permit the importation of Chinese laborers. In the event of their securing laborers from China or from some other country, nearly all the Filipinos might return to their native land. If the new laborers were aliens ineligible to citizenship, none of them would be voters. But the coming of new laborers in sufficient numbers to supplant the Filipinos would also have the effect of accelerating the movement of Hawaiian born Japanese toward the mainland of the United States.

Even if all the Filipinos leave Hawaii, I can see no valid ground for the view that the Japanese will constitute over 28 per cent of the total potential voters in 1941.

A potential voter in order to become an actual voter must register and cast a vote. If foreign born, he must be naturalized. This is a matter, not of counting heads, but of practical conduct, of interest, of disposition. At present most of the foreign born Spanish and Porto Ricans are ineligible, being illiterate, and their children are nearly all minors. The Filipinos are politically minded, but they have not yet transferred their political interest to Hawaii and so very few have sought naturalization. The disposition toward voting, or at least toward registration for voting purposes, may be measured approximately by Table J, showing the percentage of those estimated as eligible who registered for the regular November election in 1922.

These percentages must not be taken to indicate the disposition of the voters in 1941. The Americans, Hawaiians and Portuguese have had larger political experience and they formulate the issues and policies and hold the offices. The Chinese and Japanese have had little or no political experience

**TABLE I**  
**ESTIMATED NUMBER OF POTENTIAL VOTERS**  
**IN HAWAII IN 1941**

National Groups	Preliminary estimate based on the assumption that the situation will not be changed by immigration and emigration after the census date 1920	Final estimate in which allowance is made for probable immigration and emigration
Hawaiian and part Hawaiian .....	20,000	20,000
Portuguese, Spanish and Porto Rican ....	22,000	20,000
American and North European ....	11,200	15,000
Chinese .....	11,500	10,000
Japanese .....	44,000	30,000
Korean .....	1,200	800
Filipinos and others...	8,500	40,000
Total .....	118,400	135,800
Per cent Japanese ....	37.1	22.1

**TABLE J**

	Estimated Number of Potential Voters		Persons Registered for Voting Purposes		Per cent Registered of Number of Persons Estimated as Having the Right to Vote	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian .....	9,840	8,800	9,543	7,474	96.9	84.9
Portuguese .....	4,683	3,711	3,180	1,032	67.9	27.8
American .....	3,925	3,929	3,738	3,138	95.2	79.6
Chinese .....	2,139	1,232	1,285	214	60.0	17.3
Japanese .....	1,428	1,404	1,014	121	71.0	8.6



and they are not politically minded. Their voting is more a matter of ritual than of practical politics, but they will develop politically with experience. The present indications are that they will be conservatives in politics.

## VI. The Economic Status of the Japanese in Hawaii

**M**ost of the foreign born Japanese of Hawaii came or were brought as field laborers on sugar plantations. A few came as business or professional men. Slowly but surely the laborers have improved their economic position and the Hawaiian born young men and women are aiming definitely at a still higher economic status. Many of them possess the industry, intelligence, thrift and the character necessary to success in this effort. Only a few statistical facts bearing on their economic progress will be cited.

Forty-four per cent of the women were employed in 1910; only 30 per cent in 1920. This indicates a lessening need for the earnings of wives.

The men are leaving plantation labor for more desirable occupations. They are increasing in skilled employments; 2537 in 1910 and 4199 in 1920. They are getting out of occupations of little dignity and the blind alley occupations. They are entering the professions; 221 in 1910, and 651 in 1920. Some are becoming independent business men; 273 merchants in 1910 and 1150 in 1920. There are numerous Japanese small contractors and a few are managing enterprises of considerable magnitude. In reading the above figures it must be remembered that the whole number of Japanese males, both native and foreign born, with occupations decreased from 44,141 in 1910 to 39,582 in 1920.

The figures of the Territorial Assessor also indicate moderate but significant progress. In 1910 the Japanese paid taxes on real and personal property valued at \$1,920,212, or 1.27 per cent of the total valuation. In 1922 their property was valued at \$10,785,289 or 3.97 per cent of the total valuation for the Territory.

## VII. School Attendance

**S**CHOOL attendance through the elementary grades is compulsory in Hawaii. High school and college attendance is optional and so it measures the strength of the desire for an education and the ability to do the more advanced work. In the case of the children of parents with small income it also measures

the disposition of parents to make sacrifices for their children and the willingness of the children to earn their way through school. Table K based on data in the census of 1920 will enable the reader to compare the Chinese and the Japanese children of Hawaii with certain classes of mainland children.

**TABLE K**  
**PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL IN HAWAII AND**  
**IN THE UNITED STATES, CENSUS 1920**

Ages	All Races in Hawaii	All Races in the United States	Chinese in Hawaii	Native White Children of Native Parents in the United States	Japanese in Hawaii	Native White Children of Foreign Born Parents in the United States
14-15 years old.....	77.1	79.9	91.1	83.9	77.0	79.9
16-17 years old.....	40.0	42.9	69.1	48.7	35.1	34.5
18-20 years old.....	13.1	14.8	33.7	17.5	12.4	11.9

Note the extraordinarily high rate of attendance of the Chinese in Hawaii, and that the rate for the Japanese compares very favorably with the mainland rate for the children of the foreign born.

High school and college attendance is largely affected by convenience of location of homes to schools and, in the case of the children of the foreign born, by the length of the residence of the family in America. The Chinese of Hawaii are situated mainly in cities and towns and the Japanese in rural districts. The foreign born Chinese have lived in Hawaii, on the average, about twenty years longer than the Japanese.

## VIII. Miscellaneous Data

IT would be possible to submit other statistical data which would reflect the social character of the Japanese in Hawaii, but for the sake of brevity I will make certain statements in a non-statistical way. Some are based on official statistics and others are based on the opinions of business men and social workers.

1. In Hawaii there are four national groups which are superior in business responsibility and credit, and four which are inferior. The Japanese belong to the superior four. Their credit is not quite so good as that of the Chinese. Some think that this is explained by the greater length of experience in Hawaii of the Chinese and by their larger capital; others think that the Chinese are by nature or racial tradition superior in business morality. Much Japanese business is done with insufficient capital, and it could not be done at all except for the credit extended by wholesale houses.

2. The Territorial prison has fewer Japanese relative to population than it has of any other group.

3. The record of the Japanese as to conduct prohibited by the Volstead Act is not good. The chance to make easy money is too great a temptation.

4. The various relief agencies of Honolulu report that comparatively few Japanese apply for charitable relief.

5. There is less unemployment among the Japanese than among some of the other racial groups.

6. The probation officers of the Juvenile Court do not have to give much attention to Japanese children.

7. Truancy among Japanese children is rare.

8. Many Japanese boys and young men are eager to use such educational opportunities as are provided by Y. M. C. A. night schools and other similar agencies.

9. There are a few Japanese boys 17-20 years old who are becoming serious problems, primarily to their parents. They think that they are Americans and, hence, superior to their parents. They are like the American "smart Aleck," and they want to spend more than their fair share of the family income on fine clothes and amusements.

10. A considerable number of the boys are enlisted in the Boy Scout movement and if there were enough leaders the numbers could be increased.

11. The Japanese students in the University compare favorably with the students of other races; a few superior students, many about average, and a few of inferior quality. Their social and political views are distinctly conservative in character—more conservative than the average for students in the universities of the United States.



